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Elephanta.

Account of the Cave Temple of Elephanta, with a Plan and Drawings of the Principal Figures. By William Erskine, Esq. Bombay. From the First Volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society.—London, 1819.

Few remains of antiquity in the East have excited greater curiosity than the Cave-Temples of the Hindûs. History does not record any fact that can guide us in fixing the period of their excavation, and many opposite opinions have been formed regarding the religion of the people by whom they were made. As nothing directly elucidating their origin or object can be gathered from history or tradition, it only remains practicable to form some probable conjectures on the subject, by a comparison of their present appearance, with such circumstances as we have been able to ascertain regarding the modern or more ancient religions of the Hindûs. And as some of these excavations have evidently been formed by men differing from each other in their mythological opinions, if we would examine them with any degree of success, for the purpose of discovering to which particular sect any one of them belongs, it is previously necessary to comprehend something of the various religions which have prevailed in this country.

It is well known, that all India, from the earliest times has been divided among three grand sects; the Brahminical, Bouddhist, and Jaina, all of them differing in their tenets and ceremonies.

The question regarding the relative antiquity of these different sects is one chiefly of curiosity. The Brahminical seems to establish the best claim to be considered as the most ancient. All of these sects, with many tenets in common, have also opinions, that separate them widely from each other. The Brahminical religion, in its secret and esoteric doctrines, approaches nearly to pure deism; but the popular faith is extremely different. The learned Brahmins adore one God without form or quality, eternal, unchangeable, and occupying all space; but they carefully confine these doctrines to their own schools as dangerous, and teach in public a religion in which, in supposed compliance with the infirmities and passions of human nature, the Deity is brought more to a level with our prejudices and wants;—the incomprehensible attributes ascribed to him are invested with sensible and even human forms. The mind, lost in meditation on the divine nature, and fatigued in the pursuit of something, which being divested of all sensible qualities, suffers the thoughts to wander without finding a resting-place, is happy, they tell us, in the room of this unknowable and incomprehensible being, to have an object on which human feelings and human senses may again find repose. To give a metaphysical Deity to ignorant and sensual men, absorbed in the cares of supporting animal existence, and entangled in the impediments of matter, would be to condemn them to atheism. Such is the mode in which the Brahmins excuse the gross idolatry of their religion: their mythology is a strange compound of popular stories, in the greater part of which a divine being assumes a human form and lives among men. The great supreme being, Brimh, remains in holy obscurity, and mythology is never allowed to profane his name, which is always kept free from fictions. Three energies however,—the creative, the preserving, and destroying,—are embodied under the names of Bramha, Vishnu, and Shiva; to each of whom a female or passive energy is given: these have all human forms, diversified in various ways by an active imagination; and as the two latter are supposed to have descended many times, to have been incarnated on earth in different ages and in various shapes, each different incarnation or *avatar* furnishes a different deity, to whom worship is addressed. Bramha alone of the three has no variety of incarnations, and is never worshipped. Some of these *avatars* are supposed to have been incarnations of the whole god; others are only considered as incarnations of a portion of his divinity.

Besides these three great gods, however, there is a large crowd of minor deities. The wind, the sea, the elements, have their gods; the sun, moon, and stars, every river and fountain is either a deity, or has a deity to preside over it; nothing is done but by or through a god. The greater gods have besides a numerous class of dependants and servants; and human passions being once bestowed on the deities, heaven has its physician, its poet, and its dancing-girls as well as the earth.

In this great crowd of deities, there is no man, however capricious or humble, that may not find some divinity or portion of the divinity suited to his humour or self-humiliation. If a man find some difficulty in approaching Râm; that god's monkey servant, Hanuman, may however claim his worship: a little red paint thrown on a stone or the stump of a tree converts it into a god, and all the lower classes that pass, fall down and worship,

Yet it deserves notice, that even in this apparent degradation of the human intellect, if you ask one of the lowest of these unfortunate beings how many gods there are, you will be immediately answered, One God only; and will I think discover, that though they pay religious adoration to stocks and stones, from some superstitious belief that a portion of divinity resides in them, they never confound these subordinate objects of worship with the one great God, the supposed creator and preserver of the universe, but whom they consider as too mighty for them to venture to approach.

When the Brahmins are taxed with idolatry, they always, excuse themselves, as has been already remarked, by alleging the necessity of making an impression on rude minds by means of some intelligible symbols, on which the ignorant may fix their thoughts, and to which they may look for reward or punishment.

As in many of their incarnations, the gods are supposed to have appeared with several heads, with the heads of animals, with a number of hands, and other singularities, their images in the temples correctly represent all these peculiarities.

All Brahminical excavations that I have observed, are flat-roofed within, and most of them incline to a square, though they frequently have an oblong figure.

The religion of the Bouddhists differs very greatly from that of the Brahmins; as in the latter, God is introduced every where,—in the former, he is introduced nowhere. The gods of the Brahmins pervade and animate all nature; the god of the Bouddhists, like the god of the Epicureans, remains in repose, quite unconcerned about human affairs, and therefore is not the object of worship. With them there is no intelligent divine being who judges of human actions as good or bad, and rewards or punishes them as such;—this indeed is practically the same as having no God. Good and ill, according to their creed, are however supposed to spring invariably from virtue and vice; there being as they believe an inseparable and necessary connexion between virtue and prosperity, vice and misfortune. Yet, as the mind of man must have some object of confidence on which to rest its hopes and to which to direct its supplication and prayer, they teach, that from time to time, men of surpassing piety and self-denial have appeared on the earth, and from their singular worth have after death been transferred to a state of superior bliss; which state, however, they say, that we can only intimate by describing it as an absence of all pain, as we can only define health as an absence of all disease. These saints or prophets, after reforming the world in their lifetime, and by their superior sanctity attaining the power of performing miracles, are still imagined after death to have certain powers of influencing us. It is these men transferred by death to bliss who are the object of Bouddhist worship. This worship assumes different forms in different countries, and is by some supposed to be more widely diffused than any other religion. In Siam it is chiefly paid to Godoma or Sommona-Codom; but it is worthy of remark, that wherever this form of religion prevails in its original state, the relics of these holy men or saints are the object of worship. The largest temples are often in the form of a pyramid or of the section of a globe, and are supposed to contain a tooth, hair, or other relic of the saint. The forms of these holy places have been adopted from the custom prevalent in these countries of depositing the ashes of the deceased under a pyramid or globular mound: the pyramids are often of great size, and on their summits are umbrellas which are frequently adorned with bells; sometimes this pyramid is gilded over. Other temples of nearly similar construction, but hollow within, contain images to which adoration is directed. The images of these saints have different attitudes, sometimes sitting cross-legged in a meditative posture, sometimes standing upright.

As all the ideas of this religion relate to man, and as no incarnations or transformations of superior beings are recorded, it is obvious, that in their temples we can expect to find no unnatural images, no figures compounded of man and beast, no monsters with many hands or many heads.

As the priests and scholars of the Bouddhists live in a sort of collegiate establishment near some great temples, we shall find a multitude of such cells around the excavation in their cave-temples; and while all such cells are flat-roofed, the great temple is supported on two rows of pillars with aisles, and is uniformly vaulted and oblong.

The third sect that is prevalent in India is that of the Jains. These bear a very great resemblance to the Bouddhists in their religious doctrines; they believe that there is a God, but affirm that he can be known only by such as become absorbed in his essence;—that therefore a person knowing God ceases to possess identity; that hence it is absurd for a human being to pretend to know him: the moment you discover him, your identity ceases. They deny, that God was ever incarnated; and, like the Bouddhists, believe, that men by their virtuous conduct become omniscient, and may thus be con-

sidered as infallible. They hold, that since the beginning of time only twenty-four such superior beings have appeared for the reformation of mankind; these they stile the *Tirthankars*. Their priests, the *Jatis*, not only never put any thing to death, but never eat any thing which has had life. The Jainas resemble the Hindus in having casta, which the Bouddhists have not. In the Mysore and the South of India, the Jainas admit also certain of the Hindu deities into the courts of their temples; which is never done as far as I can learn either in Bombay, the Mahratta country, Guzerat, or Marwad, in all of which places there are numbers of Jainas.

In all the Jaina temples, therefore, such images as are peculiar to the Jaina worship are human, and distinguished only by symbols. The whole twenty-four holy saints are usually represented in one piece, and no worship is paid to their relics, nor are they placed under pyramids. There are however many sects of Jainas, some professing to adhere strictly to the doctrines of one saint of the *Tirthankar*, others to those of another. I am not aware, that any Jaina caverns have ever been discovered.

These few observations it was necessary to make, before proceeding to lay before the Society an account of the various cave-temples on this side of India. Few as they are, a strict attention to them will perhaps enable us to judge with ease to which of these three classes any particular temple belongs. Any monster, any figure partly human, partly brutal, any multiplicity of heads or hands in the object adored, indicate a Brahminical place of worship. The presence of umbrella-covered pyramids or semi-globes, and of simple human figures sitting cross-legged or standing in a meditative posture, as certainly shows the excavation to be Bouddhist. The twenty-four saintly figures without the pyramid prove a temple to be Jaina.

The chief cave-temples on this side of India are those of Elephanta, Salsette, Carli, and Ellora.

It may perhaps seem superfluous to add another to the many accounts which have been given by travellers of the cave-temple of Elephanta; and yet if we examine all of these descriptions with some attention, it will appear, that they are defective in various particulars. The earlier travellers were ignorant of the mythology to which the different figures sculptured in the caves belonged;—the latter either visited them in too much haste to be able to examine with accuracy what they saw, or were too imperfectly informed to be able to comprehend its tendency. When the accurate Niebuhr was in Bombay, the mythology of the Hindûs, to which this excavation belongs, was almost unknown to Europeans; and yet his account is the best that has hitherto been given of Elephanta.

The mythology of the Hindûs, bears a very striking similarity in many respects to that of Greece and Rome. In both we see a crowd of gods, whose history we must learn, not from any grave or sober theological record, but from the fanciful and discordant fables of poets, who believed, that they had a perfectly good right to invent the wildest fictions regarding their divinities; while every such fancy of the poet became in its turn a fact in the history of the god, and a matter of popular belief. In the mythology of all these countries, we find not merely the grossest absurdities, but, in numerous instances, direct contradictions; yet both stories go current, and the worshipper with perfect indifference adopts either story, or both, as he finds it most convenient.

No very effectual effort seems to have been made in either country to refine or rationalize, for popular use, the religion of the state: and this perhaps was owing to two reasons. In the first place, the constitution of the government, both in the ancient states and in modern India, had a direct reference to the established religion, which always has a very powerful influence on the peculiar form of civil society; and any attempt to change the one would have been opposed, (and in some instances really was opposed) as dangerous to the other. The second reason was, that all men who pretended to learning or science, treated the popular religion with external reverence and inward contempt. With the ancient Greeks and Romans, as with the modern Hindûs, the question was not, What is the religion of a man of letters? but what system of philosophy does he profess? The former were Academics or Epicureans, as the latter are Vedantists or Siddhantists, Niaya or Nastik; but all of them regarding alike the popular belief as a cunningly devised fable, as an idle tale made to work on the passions and affect the conduct of the vulgar, who from their prejudices and ignorance are not under the guidance of reason:—hence too, in neither religion was there ever the smallest desire of proselytism. The learned regarded all religion as merely a device of the legislator: the vulgar, believing in local religions, and that it was not necessary that all should have the same belief, imagined that a man's religion was imposed upon him by his birth in a particular country or cast, and was as necessary and unchangeable a part of him as his colour or stature:—with such ideas there was no room for proselytism. The god to whom their offerings were made, favoured or punished them, not in general as they acted morally right or wrong,—for the religion both of the ancients and of the Hindûs seems to have little connexion with morals,—but in proportion to the richness of their offerings, and the constant and painful devotion with which they frequented his temples or chanted his praise.

It does not appear that the religion of the Hindûs, any more than that of the ancient nations of Greece and Italy, was formed into a system all at once, or indeed at any time exhibited what could deserve the name of a system. The popular fictions and belief grew up from accident, and were retained in later times because they had existed before,—there was no period at which any check was put to the invention of the poets: they always retained their right of adding new fables concerning their gods to the old ones. In India, it would appear, that the further back we go, we find the religion

more nearly approximating to the belief of a single god: (a)—the religion of the Vedas, the most ancient we know of among the Hindûs, is very free from legends; and the different deities mentioned in them, seem in general to be personifications of the elements. The lower down we come, the number of the mythological fictions increases more and more; and the Purânas are filled with the wildest fancies that the human imagination can conceive,—metamorphoses as strange as those of Ovid, without their elegance.

A very slight inspection of the figures in Elephanta may convince us that the different statues were carved after the religion of the Purânas had made a considerable progress. The total absence of any legends regarding the Ling, Shakti, Râm, or Krishna, from every part of the Vedas that is regarded as genuine, had led Mr. Colebrooke (b) to believe, that the sects which profess a peculiar adoration of Shiva, Parvati, and Vishnû in these forms, are of considerably later origin than these venerable volumes; that, in particular, the sects which now worship Râm and Krishna as incarnations of Vishnû are comparatively modern; and that the worship of these deities by the Vaishnavas, and of Mahadeo and Bhavani by the Shaivas and Shaktists, has been introduced since the persecution of the Bouddhas and Jainas. If this be the case, these sects are probably not much above eight hundred years old: and as it will appear in the course of this paper that the cavern, of Elephanta is a temple dedicated to Shiva and Shakti and consequently excavated posterior to the formation of these sects, it would follow, that the caverns of Elephanta do not possess the antiquity that is generally supposed. Of this, however, strong doubts may be entertained.

It seems to be well established, both from historical traditions and from comparing with each other the grand excavations still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Bombay and in the country of the Mahrattas, that in former times there existed in these countries two powerful sects professing very different opinions. The excavations of Kanara and Carli evidently belong to the Bouddhists, as those of Elephanta and Amboli belong to the Brahmins; while Ellora possesses excavations of both classes. The differences in the form of the temples, the figure, attire, and attributes of the statues, and in the various particulars which have been mentioned above, constitute a marked distinction between the two classes of temples: but the most striking circumstance is, that while no Brahmin can enter a temple of the one class without exclaiming, that it is sacred to Shiva, and being able to point out many of the other gods by their common and familiar attributes, no person exists in the country who is able to give even an idea of the nature or purpose of the other class of temples, or of the religious sects to which they belonged,—so complete has been the extirpation of the Bouddhists from the west of India. For all illustration of the history and use of their cave-temples, we are forced to resort to Ceylon and Siam.

The celebrated caves of Elephanta are situated in the beautiful island of that name, which is called by the natives *Gara-pori*: it lies in the bay of Bombay, about seven miles from Bombay Castle and five miles from the Mahratta shore. It is nearly six miles in circumference, and is composed of two long hills with a narrow valley between them. The usual landing-place is towards the south, where the valley is broadest.*

Ascending the narrow path where the two hills are knit together, we at length come to a beautiful and rich prospect of the northern part of the island, of the sea, and the opposite shores of Salsette. Advancing forward, and keeping to the left along the bend of the hill, we gradually mount to an open space, and come suddenly on the grand entrance of a magnificent temple, whose huge massy columns seem to give support to the whole mountain which rises above it. The effect of the first view of this stupendous excavation is excessively hurt by a wretched wall recently built for the purpose of preserving the figures from dilapidation: but the government having now put the place under the charge of a small guard, the wall has already become quite unnecessary, and every principle of propriety and good taste, demands its immediate demolition.

The entrance into this temple, which is entirely hewn out of a stone resembling porphyry, is by a spacious front supported by two massy pillars and two pilasters forming three openings, under a thick and steep rock overhung by brushwood and wild shrubs. The long ranges of columns, that appear closing in perspective on every side; that flat roof of solid rock, that seems to be prevented from falling only by the massy pillars, whose capitals are passed down and flattened as if by the superincumbent weight; the darkness that obscures the interior of the temple, which is dimly lighted only by the entrances, and the gloomy appearance of the gigantic stone figures ranged along the wall and hewn like the whole temple out of the living rock, joined to the strange uncertainty that hangs over the history of the place,—carry the mind back to distant periods, and impress it with that kind of uncertain religious awe, with which the grander works of ages of darkness are generally contemplated.

The whole excavation consists of three principal parts: the great temple itself which is in the centre, and two smaller chapels, one on each side of the great temple. These two chapels do not come forward into a straight line with the front of the chief temple, are not perceived on approaching the

(a) See Colebrooke's most learned paper on the Vedas. *Asiat. Res.* vol. viii.

(b) *Asiat. Res.* vol. viii. p. 474. quarto edit.

* In order to confine the interest of this Paper to one prominent object, and to bring it within the compass of our Journal, without destroying the connection between the parts, we have here, as elsewhere farther on, omitted several pages, which relate to points of minor interest, compared with the rest, and which though quite in place in the long original Memoir which occupies Fifty pages of a large Quarto Book, we have been able to pass over, and still preserve all the prominent parts, complete as a whole.—ED.

temple, and are considerably in recess, being approached by two narrow passages in the hill, one on each side of the grand entrance, but at some distance from it. After advancing to some distance up these confined passages, we find each of them conducting to another front of the grand excavation, exactly like the principal front which is first seen, all the three fronts being hollowed out of the solid rock, and each consisting of two huge pillars with two pilasters. The two sides fronts are precisely opposite to each other on the east and west, the grand entrance facing the north. The two wings of the temple are at the upper end of these passages, and are close by the grand excavation, but have no covered passage to connect them with it. A very correct general idea of the whole may be gained from the accompanying ground-plan, (e) for which I am indebted to Charles Daw, Esq. now at Aurangabad. (d)

The great temple is about one hundred and thirty feet and a half long, measuring from the chief entrance to the furthest end of the cave, and one hundred and thirty-three feet broad from the cavern to the western entrance. It rests on twenty-six pillars (eight of them now broken) and sixteen pilasters; and neither the floor nor the roof being in one plane, it varies in height from seventeen and a half to fifteen feet. The plan is regular, there being eight pillars and pilasters in a line from the northern entrance to the southern extreme of the temple, and the same number from the eastern to the western entrances. The only striking deviation from this regularity in the chief temple, is the small square excavation that is seen as we go up the temple on the right; it occupies the place of four pillars and of the intermediate space (e) inclosed between them, as if a veil had been drawn around them, and the spot so inclosed divided from the rest of the temple. At the further extremity there are two small excavations facing each other, the one on the right the other on the left; their use is not well ascertained: (f) they were probably employed for keeping the holy utensils, and offerings. The excavation presents to the eye the appearance of perfect regularity, which it is not found to possess when accurately examined.

The pillars, which all appear to run in straight lines parallel to each other, and at equal distances, are crossed by other ranges running at right angles in the opposite direction; they are strong and massy, of an order remarkably well adapted to their situation and the purpose which they are to serve, and have an appearance of very considerable elegance. They are not all of the same form, but differ both in their size and ornaments, though this difference also does not at first strike the eye. They rise to upwards of half their height from square pedestals, generally about three feet five inches each way, crowned on the top by a broad bandage of the same shape: above this, but divided from it by a circular astragal and two polygonic fillets, rises a short round fluted shaft, forming about a fourth of the column and diminishing with a curve towards the top, where a circular

(c) Plate III. Vide Plate XXV. of the Calcutta Journal, which has been engraved from the original Manuscript of this.

(d) Memorandum by Mr. Daw respecting the Plan.

Of this plan it is necessary to observe, that the whole of the measurements are not quite faithfully delineated, and that for the following reasons:—

In Hindoo excavations, it constantly happens, that the corresponding parts vary a little in all their proportions; and although the varieties are not in general considerable enough to be obviously apparent at the first view, yet on taking accurate measurements, it appears that no two parts exactly correspond. This is found (though in a smaller degree) to be the case in the excavations at Ellora as well as at Elephanta.

The ground-plan is drawn on the supposition, that the parts correspond, and for which a medium has been taken of the differences that occur. The very large scale on which it would have been necessary to draw it with all the exact differences, is the reason why a smaller and more convenient form has been adopted: and as it appeared more necessary to give a general idea of the whole, than to attend to the minutiae of parts, it only becomes necessary to make the following remarks, to enable the reader to judge with precision of the difference between the plan and the excavation itself.

The left side of the cave, that is the side on which the square temple is situated, is one hundred and thirty-three feet eight inches in length, while the right side is only one hundred and twenty-eight feet four inches. Varieties of this kind are observable in every other part; some of the pillars are situated from each other at a distance only of twelve feet ten inches, others are separated to sixteen feet four inches and a half; some of them at fifteen feet three inches, and so on: nor is the size of the pillars themselves less various; the side of the pedestals being some of them three feet three inches, others three feet four inches, others three feet five inches, and others three feet six inches.

Those pillars which have been destroyed, are pointed out in the plan by their base having no lines on them.

The entrance to the cave is from the northward, and the principal chamber runs almost duly north and south.

The area on the western side is filled with stones and dirt that has been washed down from the mountain during the rains; and it now not only occupies the area itself, but encroaches on the large cave nearly as far as the second range of pillars from the westward.

The area on the eastern side is also very much in the same way; there are several very large pieces of the rock fallen in, as well as the dirt which has been washed down by the rain. The area on its northern side is bounded by a wall, which appears to be of very modern date. On the southern part of this area there is a spring of very fine water, over which, a little to the right, is a small unfinished room of irregular shape.

(e) The circumference is ninety-five feet which is nearly the same as the circumference of any four of the pillars.

(f) They are rather irregular; the eastern chamber is about eighteen feet from E. to W. and eighteen feet seven inches from N. to S. The western chamber is nineteen feet from E. to W. and nineteen feet three inches from N. to S.

cincture of beads binds round it a fillet composed of an ornament resembling leaves, or rather cusps, the lower extremity of which appears below the cincture, while the superior extremity rises above, projecting and terminating gracefully in a circle of over-hanging leaves or cusps. A narrow band divides this ornament from the round fluted compressed cushion, which may be regarded as the capital of the column, and as giving it its character: its fluted form coalesces beautifully with the fluted shaft below. This cushion has its circumference bound by a thin flat band or fillet, as if to retain it; and above supports a square plinth, on which rests the architrave that slopes away on each side in scrolls connected by a band or ribbon, till it meets the large transverse beam of rock which connects the range of pillars. All of them, except the two outer ranges at the chief entrance, the first range at the eastern and western entrances, and the range next to the great triad, have small figures of Ganesh (g) and of Hartik on the top of each of the four corners of the pedestal: but a far more distinct idea of the whole may be formed from the beautiful and most accurate drawing annexed, (h) than from any description.

An account of the different figures that surround the wall, though a tedious, is a conclusive mode of taking away all doubt as to the religion to which the excavation belongs. I must claim the indulgence of the Society for a detail so minute, and in general so uninteresting; and perhaps, in so curious a subject of our local topography, some allowances may be made for the unavoidable prolixity, as the detail is intended to correct some mistakes which former accounts of the caves have rendered almost popular.

The figure that faces the principal entrance is the most remarkable in this excavation, and has given rise to numberless conjectures and theories. (i) It is a gigantic bust representing some three-headed being, (h) or three of the heads of some being to whom the temple may be supposed to be dedicated. Some writers have imagined, that it is what they have called the Hindû Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and very strange historical conclusions have been deduced from this hypothesis. The Hindû Trimurti, or Trinity as it has been called, does not occupy a very remarkable place in the theology of the Brahmans; the word *Trimurti*, (l) means *three-forms*, and is applied to any three-headed figure.

The three-headed figure at Elephanta only represents the deity down to the breast, or a third length; one head faces the spectator, another looks to the right, the third to the left; a fourth may be imagined to be concealed behind. It may give some idea of its bulk, to mention, that from the top of the cap of the middle figure to the bottom of the image is seventeen feet ten inches, while the horizontal curved line embracing the three heads at the height of the eyes and touching the eyes, is twenty-two feet nine inches in length.

All the Hindû deities have particular symbols by which they may be distinguished, as much as the family of an European may be discovered by its armorial bearings. Unfortunately, many of the figures of Elephanta are too much mutilated to allow us to resort with certainty to this criterion for distinguishing them, and this is particularly the case with the principal figure. The face on the right hand that looks to the east, is evidently Shiva or Mahadeo, whose principal face, by the rules laid down for fixing images in Hindû temples, must always face the east, while the Yoni generally turns to the north. In his hand one he holds of his usual symbols, the *cobra di capella*, which twists itself round his arm and rears its head, so as look him in the face; his face seems to bear the marks of habitual passion.

He has a fine Roman nose; his brow is swollen and projects between his eyes;—this I at first regarded as only that swelling protuberance between and above the eye-lids, which is remarked by physiognomists to be indicative of passion; but having been led to a more careful examination of it by Captain Hall, to whose unwearied curiosity the present account owes much of the accuracy that it may possess, and from comparing it with similar protuberances on the brow of other figures in the cave. I have little doubt left, that it represents the third eye of Shiva, from which flame is supposed to issue, and by fire from which the world is finally to be destroyed. As Shiva, though he had five heads had only one such eye, it is represented on his principal head alone, which of course is that looking eastward. He had mustachios on his upper lip, and he and another figure in the eastern wing are the only figures in the whole cave that have them. At the corner of each of his lips is a tusk projecting over the under-lip. The lower lip of all the figures at Elephanta seems thickish, and more African than Asiatic. His tongue is thrust out between his lips; his eye-brows are not regularly arched, but rather irregularly twisted and depressed on each side towards the

(g) Some accounts erroneously call these figures of Hanumant; but no figures of Hanumant appear in the cave, nor any one connected with Vishnu's avater of Ram.

(h) Plate IV. This drawing, being made from a pillar of the second range of the chief entrance, has not the small figures on the corner.—Plate XXVI. of this Journal.

(i) See Plate V.—For this exquisitely beautiful and correct drawing, which with the others from the same pencil form the chief ornament of this memoir, I must express my obligations to Mrs. Ashburner of Bombay, who took up her residence at Elephanta for several days, for the purpose of giving them all the accuracy it was possible to bestow.—Upper compartment of Plate XXVI. of this Journal.

(k) Dr. William Hunter describes this bust as having four heads, one being hid behind *Archeologia*, vol. vii. p. 292. It is, however, to be observed that no traces of the fourth head appear, it being left entirely to the imagination to supply it, as well as the fifth on the top, if the bust be Shiva's.

(l) From *tri* three, and *murti* a figure or image; it nearly corresponds with the Latin epithet *triformis*.

nose, as those of a person habitually passionate. His ear is not visible, and may be supposed to be covered with the curls of his hair. His cap is richly adorned with variegated figures, branches, and flowers; among others may be distinguished a skull or death's head, a serpent with various folds, and branches of the *bilva-tree*, the leaves of which issue three from a point like the trefail, and *Nirgundi* a sort of shrub, which are symbols that belong peculiarly to Shiva; a few curls run along below his cap. Behind his high cap, the stone is excavated on the right side into two narrow parallel slips, the one higher than the other, so that two persons might lie stretched at length without being observed from below; but there are no steps up to them.

The middle figure has a tame and tranquil appearance; his ears are long, pressed downwards, and divided like those of the *Kämpche*, a set of mendicants, who by means of weights contrive to stretch down their ears to an extraordinary length:—he has a jewel in each ear, (m) and hanging ornaments. His cap is richly ornamented with fancy figures, and on the right side is a crescent, which belongs to Shiva. His right arm is mutilated from the wrist downwards:—in Niebuhr's time it seems to have been entire; and in the engraving in his work is represented as holding a snake. The head of the snake still remains on the left cheek of the first figure. His left hand holds what appears to be an unblown lotus, or perhaps, if the figure be Bramha, his *kamaudala* or *patera*, the water-vessel which he uses in his religious purification. Round his right wrist is a ring precisely like the clumsy ornament still in use called *kada*, which is a thick ring, generally of silver or some other precious metal. Round the neck, which hangs in folds, is a necklace of large round stones; and below this, a broad ornamental jewel necklace:—a remarkable jewel is in the front of the cap. It is represented in the plate with unequalled accuracy, and is certainly, both for elegance of design and beauty of execution, one of the finest specimens of Hindû taste any where to be met with: some of the fancy ornaments strongly resemble those used in heraldry. The hanging pendants have an elegant effect. The middle is occupied by a circular band of precious stones adorning and limiting the front; while below, another rich bandage, also adorned with cut stones, passes round the head-dress. Between the cap of this figure and that of the figure to the right, a snake is represented as twining.

The figure on the left has a mild and placid look; in his left hand, which has a *kada* on the wrist, he holds an open lotus. He has fine curling ringlets. On his head is a rich cap ornamented with a hanging drapery of jewel garlands:—a lotus is represented on the junction of his cap with that of the middle figure. In his ear is something resembling a crooked horn, which seems to have supported a jewel now broken off:—the middle figure has a similar-looking ornament, but inverted. The curls and drapery are very neatly sculptured.

This magnificent Triad is in a recess cut in the rock to the depth of thirteen feet, including the thickness of the doorway-wall or screen, which is about two feet and a half; the basement is raised about two feet nine inches from the ground. In the corners of the threshold are two holes, as if door-posts had been inserted in them, and in the floor is a groove as if for receiving a screen, which may occasionally have been let down to conceal the group.

The recess is wider within, than at the doorway, the entrance being fifteen feet six inches wide, while farther in, the recess expands to twenty-one feet six inches.

Such is this remarkable figure that occupies the most conspicuous place in the temple, and which of late has generally been regarded as the Hindû Trinity; but it appears to me, that, if our opinions be guided by a general examination of this figure compared with the others in the excavation, and with the apparent design of the cave, little doubt will be left, that the whole excavation is a cave-temple dedicated to Shiva alone (n), who is also singly represented by this three-headed bust. The impression made on Christians by the view of this three-headed figure, has had more influence than any regard to genuine Hindû doctrines, or to the legends, in the sacred books of the Brahmins, in fixing the opinions most prevalent on the subject of this mysterious bust. To account for the appearance of a many-headed monster in a mythology like that of the Hindûs, which swarms with gods of every description, it does not seem necessary to resort to the theory of the Trinity, which has played a remarkable part in the Platonic school, and is the catholic doctrine of the Christians; but which cannot be correctly said to have a place in the theology of the Hindûs. Even the most learned Hindûs have never heard of any incarnation of three gods in the same form, and the appearance of one god with a triple head is also rare. The god *Fewer, Iwar*, who has the epithet of *Trishir* (or three-headed) given him in the *Amerajasa*, is the only one I recollect in Hindû mythology, except the *Trishûni*; and neither of them are figures of any great distinction. But it is curious, that if this single three-headed figure be not considered as representing Bramha and Vishnu in conjunction with Shiva, there is no other of the numerous figures in the temple which favours the idea, that these two gods had any share in it as objects of worship. I shall, after having examined

(m) What in Niebuhr's drawing appears as a link, is really part of the split ear.

(n) I have heard it suggested by a very able antiquary, that the temple might be dedicated to Shiva with the attributes of Bramha and Vishnu. This last kind of dedication is not uncommon, particularly in the Carnatic, and seems to be an ingenious way of paying court to the chief deity, by representing the others as duly emanations or forms of his power. Nor has the chief deity always the attributes of a second only. But the opinion that the excavation is a temple of Shiva alone, seems to me to rest on better grounds.

the various sculptures in the cave, suggest some further reasons, resulting from that review, in support of the opinion, that it is a temple dedicated to Shiva alone: in the meanwhile I must again claim the indulgence of the Society, while I proceed with the tedious examination of the separate compartments.

I have already mentioned, that the whole temple of Elephanta is probably dedicated to Shiva alone, and not to Shiva, Vishnu, and Bramha, as has of late been generally understood.

After the explanation,—I am sensible, that I may add the dull and tedious explanation—of the separate sculptures that has been given, the grounds of that belief may be more easily comprehended. It may previously be remarked, that the use made of temples by the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as by the modern Hindûs, is considerably different from that required of them by Christian nations. A Hindû goes alone, as an ancient Roman would have done, when he finds it convenient, offers his solitary prayers before his idol, prostrates himself in his presence, and leaves his offering: he attempts to bribe his god to prosper him in his trade, whether it be merchandize, or procuration, or theft. There is no stated regular time of teaching, no public prayers said by a priest in the name of a mixed congregation, no gathering of the people to go through a solemn service. Their great festivals are like our ideas of a fair; each man goes in his own time to the temple, makes his offering at the feet of the idol, goes out and purchases sweetmeats. All teaching or reading of the sacred books is in private houses; or if it is in the temple, it is in the courts of the temple, never in the consecrated edifice: the verandas or porticoes near the temple are used just as any others equally convenient would be. This use, to which the courts of the temple are applied, will throw light on many passages of the history and sacred volumes of the Jews. It is evident, that the temples of nations whose worship is so conducted, need not be large like our churches; since it is not required that they should contain a multitude. In all very ancient temples, however magnificent, the part of the temple in which the deity is supposed to reside, is small, surrounded by numerous buildings, in which the priests and servants of the temples reside. This seems to have been the plan of the first temple of Jerusalem; it was that of the older Grecian temples, as we may observe from the Ion of Euripides, and it is at this day that presented by the temple of Mecca. In the temples of the Hindûs, the great object of worship is not constantly exposed to view, nor placed in the larger outer building; it is always in an inner small and dark apartment, usually having only one door, requiring to have lights burning before it in order to be seen, and facing the door so as to be visible from the further side of an intervening saloon. It will be remarked, that the different apartments in which the *flaggs* are placed at Elephanta answer this description, and would favour a belief, that the *flag* itself was the principal object of adoration in the temple. In the grand excavation, the *flag* directly faces two of the three entrances, the eastern and western; it is likewise seen from the central point of the cave. In like manner, a person entering either of the two wings by their middle opening, in each of them has the *flag* immediately before him; this seems to mark it out as the principal and most frequent object of attention in the temple. There is some reason to conjecture, from the practice of other Hindû temples, that the great figure facing the grand entrance was only exposed to view on more solemn festivals. A veil was probably dropped before the recess, where the marks of some framework still exist, and on ordinary occasions only the two chapels, and occasionally the side-doors of the great temple, which all present the *flag*, were probably thrown open.

It must be observed as an objection to the idea which generally prevails, that the middle figure of the three-headed bust represents Bramha, that Bramha's image is never an object of worship with the Hindûs; there is no such thing as a temple of Bramha: a peculiarity, to account for which, different idle stories may be found in the *Purâns*. Such being the case, it is not likely, that if the bust was ever intended to be worshipped, a deity who is worshipped nowhere else, should receive religious supplication at Elephanta.

In the next place, there is no one discriminative mark by which the figure in question can be ascribed to Bramha: as far as the mere sculpture is concerned, it might as well be any other god—the serpent in the hand of the middle figure militates against the notion, that it is Bramha. Had not the idea of a Trinity, suggested by the view of the three headed bust presented itself to the mind encompassed with mystery and wonder, Bramha would probably never have been thought of. It would be wisdom in Christian divines to throw off the treacherous assistance which has been supposed to be afforded to some of the mysteries of the Christian faith by this fabulous Hindû Trinity.

Travellers have entertained very different ideas of the degree of genius and art displayed in this temple and the figures around it; some are disposed to rate them very high, and speak in rapturous terms of the execution and design of several of the compartments. To me it appears, that while the whole conception and plan of the temple is extremely grand and magnificent, and while the outline and disposition of the separate figures indicate great talent and ingenuity, the execution and finishing of the figures in general (though some of them prove the sculptor to have had great merit)

† We have passed over, here, twenty-three pages, devoted to descriptions of the separate compartments, marked by Roman Letters in the Ground Plan, chiefly because they would not be intelligible without being accompanied by the original Drawings or Engravings of them, which are too numerous for us to attempt. The omission of this part does not, however, render any of the other parts less clear or intelligible.—ED.

fall below the original idea, and are often very defective, in no instance being possessed of striking excellence. The figures have something of rudeness and want of finish, the proportions are sometimes lost, the attitudes forced, and every thing indicates the infancy of the Art—though a vigorous infancy. The grouping appears to be still more defective than the execution of the separate figures:—a number of little and almost dwarfish figures are huddled around one or two larger ones. Indeed it deserves consideration, whether the nature of the Hindû mythology, which represents every thing by hieroglyphic, be not extremely unfavourable to the fine-arts. The arts of painting and sculpture, owe their chief beauties to a successful representation of external objects, and to a happy development of the universal feelings and passions of human nature, as expressed on the human frame. But in the mythology of the Brahmins,—such is the number of legends relating to each of the gods, and so much are their various qualities and properties depicted by conventional marks and symbols, which ascertain distinctly the character and situation of each individual, as much as a written name or mark would do,—that the ingenuity of the artist is not required to indicate by the fine touches of his art, what is done by a rougher and grosser way. The Egyptian sculpture seems never to have passed beyond this step. The Greeks by their fine genius burst the shackles which they received from their masters, and their statues and sculpture will probably be found most excellent, where the general characters and passions of human nature swallow up the understood symbols of the individual represented, when the painter rather than the people speaks. On this account I have always regarded the attempt made by Sir Joshua Reynolds to restore in a certain degree, the use of hieroglyphic in painting, as an oversight of that excellent painter and admirable critic. It seems to be taking a step backward, and to be degrading that beautiful art from exhibiting a representation of general nature, intelligible to all mankind, to the exhibition of a local and temporary character, intelligible only to those whose age and country have qualified them to peruse it. When carried all its length, it brings back the fine-arts from giving representations of ideal nature, and strong and refined passions, to the mere art of copying external objects and symbols; it makes them a provincial dialect instead of an universal and eternal language—it has a tendency to strike genius out of the art. The general use of such symbols, accordingly, appears to me to have combined with other causes to blunt the sense of the Hindûs for the fine-arts: they are delighted to recognise a deity by his *vahana*, his many heads and numerous arms; but they appear to set little value on the accurate delineation of a passion, or the fine forms that start from beneath the chisel or the pencil: the passion being represented by its artificial symbol, the natural sign loses its value. The Hindûs are always children, and amused with baubles; their groups even of living beings are generally still life. If there are many figures in the piece, they are commonly seated, and action is rarely represented; or if it be, it is generally an obvious one, like a fight or battle. The various figures as may be remarked of those at Elephanta, are never made to concur by different actions towards one end so as to preserve unity in the piece. While sculpture is in this state, and while the art of grouping and of telling a story is in this condition, it is not going too far to consider them as in their infancy.

While the particular compartments of figures have these defects, it is remarkable that the whole frame and form of the excavation, which to the eye appears regular, when critically examined and measured, is found to be in an uncommon degree faulty. The pillars in the different ranges deviate from the straight line, some advancing and some receding beyond their proper places. Many of them stand with a certain degree of obliquity, few of them are of exactly the same dimensions, and the different sides of the same pillars are rarely similar to each other. Even the whole temple itself, which to the eye presents the appearance of regularity, has no two sides of the same magnitude: in a work hewn and carved out with such prodigious labour and expense as this of Elephanta, such a defect appears astonishing. This inequality, extending to the temple itself, the pillars, and the shrines, gives rise to an idea that the inequality may be intentional. Mr. Crawford in his Sketches observes, that the Hindûs never make the sides of a tank or reservoir perfectly equal to each other. The remark seems to me correct so far as concerns the fact; but with every inquiry that I have made, I cannot discover, that there is any such positive rule, or that it is applied to any of their buildings or edifices. Most of the compartments have suffered a good deal from force and injury rather than time; the figures, which are all in full relief and merely adhering to the wall, are easily subject to injury.

It is worthy of notice, that the excavation appears once to have been painted in water-colours: some of these colours still adhere to the roof, though none of the figures that have been painted on it are so entire as to be recognisable. Some remains of water-colours are also visible in other parts of the cave. It is probable, that all the figures were once painted (a) in many and glaring colours, as is still practised in regard to Hindû idols. The third eye in the forehead of Shiva and of his servants, could not have been distinguished at any considerable distance unless painted. The remains of similar painting are still seen at the caves of Kanara, and even in the magnificent temples of Egypt.

Nothing presents itself in these excavations, which can lead to a satisfactory solution of the important and curious question, In what age or by what dynasty was this vast temple completed? One fact is worthy of notice, that a greater number of magnificent cave-temples present themselves in a small space on this coast, and in territories originally inhabited by a

Mahratta race, than are to be met with in any other part of India. The caves of Elephanta, those of Kanara, Amboli, and some others on the island of Salsette, the cave of Carli on the road by the Bor Ghat to Poona, the still more extensive and magnificent ranges at Ellora, not to mention some smaller cave-temples in the Kōkan and near the Adjanta pass, are all on Mahratta ground, and seem to show the existence of some great and powerful dynasty, which must have reigned many years to complete works of such labour and extent. The existence of temples of opposite characters and of different and hostile religions, only a few miles from each other, and in some instances, as at Ellora, even united in the same range, is a singular fact, which well deserves to excite the attention, and exercise the industry, of the Indian antiquary.

All travellers who have visited Egypt and India have been irresistibly struck with the resemblance between the temples of Egypt and the excavations of India, as well in the massy dignity of the whole, as in the arrangement and form of the temple and the appearance of the figures. Many articles in the mythology of these countries also exhibit a singular coincidence; but no judicious comparison has hitherto been instituted between the architecture, sculpture, and mythology of the two countries.

De Stael on Camoens.

On the Life and Writings of Luis de Camoens, by Madame la Baronne de Stael Holstein.—From the New Monthly Magazine.

[We have been favoured by an esteemed friend at Paris, with the following hitherto unpublished Essay of the celebrated Madame de Stael, and we feel considerable pleasure in being enabled to announce, for the future numbers of our Magazine, several productions of no less interest than the same distinguished pen.—Ed.]

Luis de Camoens, the most celebrated of the Portuguese Poets, was born at Lisbon in 1517. (a) His father was descended from a noble family, and his mother was connected with the illustrious house of Sá. He pursued his studies at Coimbra. The directors of education in that city thought nothing worthy of estimation in literature except the imitation of the ancient writers. The genius of Camoens was inspired by the history of his native country, and the manners of his age; his lyric poems, in particular, like the works of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso, belong to that description of literature which was revived by Christianity, and to the spirit of chivalry rather than a purely classic taste. For this reason, the partisans of the latter, who were extremely numerous in the time of Camoens, bestowed but little approbation on his early productions. Having finished his studies, he returned to Lisbon, where he conceived a violent attachment for Donna Catarina de Attaide, one of the ladies of the Palace. (b) Ardent passions are frequently allied to great natural talents, and the life of Camoens was alternately a prey to his sentiments and his genius. He was banished to Santarem, owing to some disputes in which he was engaged through his attachment to Donna Catarina. There, in his exile, he composed several detached poems expressive of the state of his feelings, and it is easy to trace the history of his life in the various impressions which appear in his work. (c)

Reduced to despair, he enlisted as a soldier, and served in the fleet which the Portuguese sent to attack Morocco. He wrote verses even amidst the fury of battles, and by turns the perils of war animated his poetic genius, and exalted his military ardour. He lost his right eye by a musket ball before Ceuta. On his return to Lisbon he hoped at least, that his wounds would obtain for him some reward, though his talent might remain unnoticed; but notwithstanding his two-fold claims to the favour of the go-

(a) The place of his nativity has been ascertained by his frequent application of the epithet *patrial* to the Tagus: but the precise time of his birth is involved in considerable obscurity. By an entry in the register of the Portuguese India House, it would appear to have taken place in 1525, as he is there stated to have been twenty-five years old in 1550. The same document mentions him as one of his son's sureties, and consequently living in 1550.—Ed.

(b) Camoens was introduced to the knowledge of his mistress, Catarina de Attaide in the church of "Christ's Wounds" at Lisbon, on *Holy Thursday*, 1542; and the far famed Petrarch first beheld Laurette de Sade, whom he has immortalized under the name of Laura, in the church of the monastery of St. Claire, at Avignon, on *Good Friday*, 1347. It is a coincidence worthy of notice, that these two celebrated poets should have received the impetus of their genius—and love has ever been considered as the inspirer of poetry—under circumstances so directly similar; both having encountered the arbitresses of their fate at the same period of the year, in places of religious worship; and it is no less remarkable, that the principal feature in the subsequent event of their lives should also have been alike; we allude to the death of the objects of their affection. They both endeavoured to heal their lacerated bosoms with the balm of fancy, and each has left imperishable records of the sincerity of his love, and the depth and purity of his regret.—Ed.

(c) It is stated that having returned to Lisbon before the period of his banishment was completed, he basked, for a time, once more in the sunny smiles of his fair mistress; but his happiness was doomed to be of short duration; he was detected, driven back to Santarem, and the term of his exile prolonged. *Faivy's Verses* Ydel P. §14.—Ed.

(d) Over the grand entrance, between the eastern pillar and pilaster, there is a drawing in water-colours of several concentric circles with some figures, which may have represented the signs of the zodiac; but the colours are too much worn to admit of their being correctly distinguished.

vernment of his country, inconceivable obstacles awaited him.(d) The envious frequently possess the art of destroying one merit by another, instead of exalting both, and making them reflect mutual lustre on each other. Camoens, justly indignant at the neglect he experienced, embarked for India, in 1569, and like Scipio, bade adieu to his country, protesting that not even his ashes should find a grave in it.(e)

On his arrival at Goa, in India, one of the most celebrated Portuguese settlements, his imagination was struck by the achievements of his countrymen in that ancient quarter of the world,(f) and though he had so much reason to complain of them, yet he celebrated their glory in an epic poem. But that vivacity of imagination which creates great poets, is incompatible with the moderation necessary in a dependant situation. Camoens was disgusted at the abuses practised in the administration of the affairs of India, and he wrote a satire on the subject which gave such offence to the Viceroy of Goa, that he exiled him to Macao. Here he lived for several years, having no society, save a sky, even more magnificent than that of Portugal, and the luxuriant scenery of those Eastern regions which are justly denominated the cradle of the world.

At Macao he wrote the *Lusiad*, and perhaps, considering the peculiar situation of the author, the poem might be expected to present more boldness of conception. The subject is the expedition of Vasco de Gama to India, an enterprise which had never before been attempted: the parts most generally known are, the episode of Ines de Castro and the appearance of Adamastor, the genius of storms, who endeavours to stop Gama just as he is about to double the Cape of Good Hope. The remainder of the poem is supported by the art with which Camoens has mingled the narrative of Portuguese history with the splendour of poetry, and the devotion of christianity with the fables of paganism. He has been blamed for this combination; but, in the *Lusiad*, it does not appear to produce any discordant impression. Christianity is the reality of life, and Paganism the ornament of festivals; and there is a sort of delicacy in not employing that which is sacred, even from the sports of the imagination. Besides, Camoens had ingenious motives for introducing mythology into his poem. He took a pleasure in calling to mind the Roman origin of the Portuguese; and Mars and Venus were considered not only as the tutelary divinities of the Romans, but were also regarded as their ancestors.

Fabulous history attributes to Bacothis, the first conquest of India; and it was therefore natural to represent him as being jealous of the enterprise of the Portuguese. I am, however, of opinion, that this introduction of mythology, together with some other imitations of classical works, destroy the originality of the pictures which we might expect to find in a poem in which India and Africa are described by one who had travelled through both.

A Portuguese may be less struck with the natural beauties of the south than we should be; but there is something so wonderful in the disorders, as well as the beauties of the ancient parts of the world, that we eagerly seek for a detail of their peculiarities; and perhaps Camoens has conformed too closely in his descriptions to the received theory of the fine arts. The versification of the *Lusiad* is so charming and dignified in the original language, that not only the Portuguese of cultivated education, but even the common people know several of the cantos by heart, and repeat them with enthusiasm.

The unity of interest in the poem consists, above all, in the patriotic sentiment which pervades the whole. The national glory of the Portuguese is there revived under every form which the imagination is capable of depicting. It is therefore natural, that Camoens should be admired by his own countrymen more than by foreigners. The charming episodes of Tasso's Jerusalem delivered, must ensure to that poem universal admiration; and even were it true, as some German critics have affirmed, that the *Lusiad* presents stronger and more faithful historical colouring, yet the fictions of the Italian poet will always render his reputation most brilliant and popular.

Camoens was at length recalled from exile. Whilst returning to Goa, he was shipwrecked at the mouth of the river Mecon in Cochin China; but he swam ashore, holding in one hand, above water, the manuscript of the *Lusiad*, the only treasure he saved from the devouring waves, and which he

(d) In addition to his misfortunes he found upon his return, that his mistress was no more, she died at the age of twenty, and thus escaped the miseries to which she must have been exposed, had she lived to share the lot of her neglected and hapless lover. Her name, however, will always be preserved by the wild flowers with which he has so gracefully and tenderly entwined it.—Ed.

(e) How different is this exclamation to the following pathetic apostrophe of a self-exiled Bard, of the present day:

—I was born where men are proud to be,
Not without cause; and should I leave behind
The inviolate island of the sage and free
And seek me out a home by a remoter sea;
Perchance I loved it well; and should I lay
My ashes in a soil which is not mine,
My spirit shall resume it—if we may
Unbodied choose a sanguinary.—

iv Canto. C. Harold.

(f) Madame de Stael has omitted to mention, that Camoens engaged in, and materially contributed to the success of an expedition against the Pimanta Isles, carried on by the king of Cochin and his allies, the Portuguese; a modest recital of which is to be met with in one of his elegies. Shortly after, Manuel de Vasconcelos was appointed to conduct an armament to the Red Sea; he was accompanied by our poet, who with that intrepid thirst for information, which forms one of the characteristics of true genius, explored the wild regions of Africa, by which Mount Felix is surrounded, and thus fitted himself for entering into those delightful descriptions which so constantly occur in his *Lusiad*.—Ed.

valued higher than his own life.(g) This consciousness of one's own talent is a commendable trait, when it is confirmed by posterity; for in proportion as unfounded vanity is contemptible, that sentiment is exalted which assures a man of what he really is, notwithstanding the efforts made to discourage him. On reaching the shore, Camoens commented, in one of his lyric poems, on the celebrated psalm of the daughters of Sion in exile, (*super fluminibus Babylonis*). (A) When he set foot on the soil of India, where the Portuguese had settled, he fancied himself already returned to his native country; for the idea of country consists of fellow-citizens, language, and all that relives the recollections of our childhood. The inhabitants of the south are attached to external objects, those of the north to customs; but all mankind, and particularly poets, when exiled from the land which gave them birth, like the women of Sion, suspend their lyres on the weeping willows which border the foreign shore.(i)

Camoens, on his return to Goa was persecuted by a new Viceroy, and confined for debt. However, some friends offered to become his sureties, and he was permitted to embark. He returned to Lisbon in 1569, sixteen years from the period at which he had quitted Europe. King Sebastian, who had yet scarcely attained the age of manhood, felt interested in the fate of Camoens, and accepted the dedication of his epic poem. The King was about to commence an expedition against the Moors, and he discerned more acutely than another would probably have done, the genius of a poet, who, like himself, could brave every danger for the sake of glory.(h) But one might almost say, that the fatality which attended Camoens, brought about the overthrow of his country that he might perish beneath its vast ruins. King Sebastian was killed at the battle of Alcazar before Morocco, in the year 1578.(j) By his death the royal family became extinct, and Portugal was deprived of her independence. Then every resource and every hope was lost to Camoens. His poverty was so extreme, that during the night, a slave whom he had brought from India begged in the streets to procure his subsistence. In this state of wretchedness, he wrote several lyric poems, and the most beautiful of these detached pieces are filled with complaints of his misery. What an extraordinary genius must he have possessed who could thus draw fresh inspiration from sufferings calculated to banish all the enchantment of poetry! Finally, the hero of Portuguese literature, the only one whose glory is at once national and European, expired in an Hospital, in the year 1579, in the 62nd year of his age. After a lapse of fifteen years, a monument was erected to his memory. This short interval separated the most cruel neglect from testimonials of the most lively enthusiasm; but in the seventeen years, death had presented himself as a mediator between the envy and justice of

(g) Friendless and unknown, it was his good fortune to meet with a most humane reception from the natives, whom he has immortalized in that beautifully prophetic song in the tenth *Lusiad*.—Having named Mecon, he goes on.

Este recebero placido, e brando,

No seu reg-co o Canto que molhado, &c. Literally thus: "On his gentle, hospitable bosom (*sic* brando poetice) shall he receive the song, wet from woe! unhappy shipwreck, escaped from destroying tempests, from ravenous dangers, the effect of the unjust sentence upon him whose lyre shall be more renowned than enriched."—Ed.

(h) Lord Byron has given a fine paraphrase of this Psalm in his Hebrew Melodies, beginning.

We sat down and wept by the waters
Of Babel, and thought of the day, &c.

(i) This, however, was not the case with Ovid; though after his banishment his muse was devoted to little better than the expression of pitiful lamentations; nor need we to look far among ourselves for another exception to the rule.—Ed.

(k) Camoens according to Faria printed his *Lusiad* in 1572. In the opening of the first book he inscribed the volume, with an elegantly turned compliment, to King Sebastian, then in his eighteenth year. Mr. Mickie, however, upon apparently good grounds, seems to doubt the generosity of the King, and to consider the story of the pension granted to the poet, as related by the French translator, not only untrue but improbable; at all events Correa and others, cotemporary with Camoens, have omitted to notice it. Besides, when King Sebastian undertook the Moorish expedition, he selected a person of patry and despicable abilities named Diego Bernardes, and took him into Africa for the purpose of witnessing and celebrating his exploits. This does not tally with the *discrepant* ascribed to him by Madame de Stael; had Camoens, indeed, been as highly favored as is represented, and in fact the *protegé* of the monarch, it is much more likely that he would have chosen him, who describes himself as alternately wielding the pen and the sword.—Ed.

(l) His successor Cardinal Henry was one to whose eyes "the cowl of monkhood seemed a more graceful ornament than the noblest laurels of the Muse." (Strangford's Camoens) Against this contemptible being, Mr. Mickie has expressed himself in terms of strong but honest indignation; and in the edition of Camoens published at Lisbon in 1782, there is an attempt to vindicate his character from the charges brought against it by the ingenious translator of the *Lusiad*. But it only serves to attach fresh odium to a name already sufficiently despised. The favourite poet of this wretched bigot, and the only one he thought proper to patronize, was Francesco de Sa, a writer, as Sousa informs us of orthodox sonnets to St. John, and pious little epigrams on Adam and Eve, &c. whilst the Bard whose genius gave him an imperious claim to protection, was suffered to languish in sickness and poverty, without the means of obtaining even the commonest necessities of life. But the flagitious founder of the inquisition at Goa, the vile and malignant enemy of the elegant Buchanan, so far from possessing enthusiastic sympathy for suffering merit could not be supposed to be endued with even those every day feelings of humanity which are expected in the meanest peasant. He was in fine "a good Portuguese" according to the proverbial definition of the term, namely, "a bad Spaniard stripped of all his virtues, and retaining only his vices."—Ed.

contemporaries. (m) The best edition of his works appeared at Lisbon in 1779—80 under the following title:—*Obras de Luis de Camoens Principe dos poetas de Hesphana*, 4 vols. 12mo. (n) The first volume is divided into two parts containing the life of the author and the *Lusiad*. The last volume contains the dramas and works attributed to Camoens.

(m) He was buried in the church of St. Anne of the Franciscans, and an inscription was placed over his tomb by Gonçalo Castelejo, which for comprehensive simplicity has not often been surpassed:

HERE LIES LUIS DE CAMOENS:
HE EXCELLED ALL THE POETS OF HIS TIME;
HE LIVED POOR AND MISERABLE,
AND HE DIED SO.
MDLXIX.

(n) In the Coimbra edition of Camoens, published in 1798, and dedicated by permission to his Royal Highness the Prince of Brazil, (now King of Portugal), many poems occur, not translated either by Lord Strangford or Mickle. We apprehend his lordship used that of Antonio Josephus, published at Lisbon in 1783, a very imperfect one, though in general use; those which are considered genuine, cannot be purchased even at Lisbon for less than three pounds British currency.

We by no means consider Lord Strangford's translations entitled to praise on the score of fidelity; he has taken the most unpardonable liberties with his author, and it is perhaps no where more obvious than in the pathetic "Lamentation for past errors," as Camoens calls it; but which is headed differently by his lordship:

I saw the virtuous man contend,
With life's unnumbered woes, &c.

is beautiful and correct; there is however, one verse omitted entirely, and the last two are awkwardly blended into one. The verse omitted comes in after the first stanza of Lord Strangford's translation. We should render it thus:

I watched his combat with a world
Which knows not to forgive;
I marked his foes to ruin hurled;
And saw the good man live.

We can discover no reason for his leaving out a verse which would not only have been an addition, but an improvement to his elegant translation of one of the most affecting little poems in the whole volume.

The talents of Lord Strangford for the task he has undertaken, are unquestionable; but it is probable, that the multiplicity of important business in which he must have necessarily been engaged, occasioned him to be negligent; in truth, his volume appears to have been composed more for recreation during his few leisure hours than to meet the public eye.—Ed.

Festival of Jugunnat'ha.

(From the Friend of India, published by the Mission at Serampore.)

In our number for July last year, we gave an account of a singular accident which happened to the car of this celebrated deity, whom the great bulk of the natives continue to regard as the lord of the world, in spite of those clear and decisive proofs, which would convince even the most thoughtless of his complete inability to verify that title. We trust we shall be excused by our readers if we bring the subject again before them in order to relate several circumstances, which though not novel in themselves, have been rendered so notorious at the late anniversary, as to warrant their being publicly made known.

This image of Jugunnat'ha is the most famous of all the images of that deity in this part of the country, and by those who are interested in the subject, is regarded as inferior only to the original image in Orissa. The splendid endowments it enjoys, and its vicinity to the metropolis of the east, the residence of so great a proportion of wealthy natives, conspire to give it a degree of celebrity, which is denied to every other image in this part of the country. The cupidity and rapacity of those brahmins who are the proprietors of this image, have eagerly seized on these circumstances, and turned them into a channel of profit to themselves.

Two miles from the temple of this deity, stands that of his imagined brother, Radha-vullubb, and the eight days which the ghastly allow to intervene between the car's being drawn forth, and its being drawn back, have been improved to their own advantage by the proprietors of this latter temple, who by means of an annual present obtained permission for him to spend this time in the society of his brother, in which according to the notion of the vulgar, he enjoys every degree of fraternal delight. This present is in general Seventy-five Rupees; which however renders the residence of Jugunnat'ha with his brother, still a profitable concern to the proprietors of Radha-vullubb's temple. In the seven days during which he remained there this year, presents were made to him in money to the value of Five Hundred Rupees; and to the amount of about Two Hundred more in various articles, chiefly of food. These presents however, being made at the temple of Radha-vullubb, reverted to the proprietors of that image, and not to those of Jugunnat'ha.

The sacred personages who are the proprietors and lords of both these images, and who of course claim as their right, the offerings made them, are not the only persons however, to whom this festival is advantageous. Within the last two or three years, it has been customary to erect sheds by the way side for gambling; and the multitudes of worshippers who possess a

small portion of wealth, and whom the metropolis pours forth on such occasions, present a fine harvest for sharps. As usual, the Chinese, the great gamblers of the east, take the lead. At this recent festival, nearly a hundred came up from Calcutta, and devoted themselves without cessation to this abominable employment.

The number of gambling houses erected by them and the natives, exceeded twenty; and in these the disappearance of the great luminary of day produced no interruption in business. Those who had been wearied by the labors and ill success of the day, resigned their post to others who prolonged the scene through the night, and such as had occasion to pass by them in the morning, perceived the lamps still burning. This practice continued for eight days and produced an abundant exhibition of every species of villainy.

On one occasion a native from a short distance inveigled the child of a neighbour from home, and having lost all he possessed at one of these gambling houses, pretended to leave the child whom he called his own, as a pledge for the payment of his debt, and absconded. The native to whom the boy had been thus consigned, considered him as a lawful prize, and as such would have borne him home, had he not been rescued by a peon who happened to be acquainted with the parents of the child. Three other natives, after having lost every cowry they possessed, brought to the market their young and innocent wives, of whom the eldest was little more than twelve years of age. This young person however, whom he had received from her parents, was unfelicitously sold by this worshipper of Jugunnat'ha, for Thirteen Rupees! She was purchased by a woman who keeps a house of ill fame, and thus consigned for ever to infamy and vice. In the two other cases, the relatives of the young women, or rather children, for they were little more than ten years of age, happened to obtain a knowledge of what was going forward, and made so strenuous and effectual an opposition in the midst of the multitude, that the bargain was broken off before it could be fully completed. Who can wonder at the complete demoralization of the Hindoos, when such deeds are perpetrated in the very presence of their supposed divinity, and at the season of one of those public acts of adoration, from which they ought to derive additional motives for purity of life.

We have not heard that any one this year devoted himself to destruction under the wheels of the car. Perhaps this consumption of religious frenzy is chiefly confined to the original shrine of this deity; but the number of those who perished by accident under the wheels was very considerable. Within a few miles round, no fewer than six were crushed to death; and when we consider all the circumstances of the case, it will appear highly probable that this is not an unfair estimate for a limited space of the number of accidents at these seasons annually. This festival is celebrated throughout the whole of Bengal; it always occurs during the rains, and at the time of the changes of the moon, when there is frequently an extraordinary fall of rain. With the exception of those at Calcutta, the cars are drawn over roads formed merely of earth which are of course slippery to a high degree.

When any one of the crowd of devotees who are drawing the car, happens to fall down, the number who are crowded around him as closely as they can stand, prevents his rising again, and the impossibility of stopping the car, deprives him of every chance of escape, unless he should happen to fall precisely into one of the intermediate spaces formed in this instance by thirty-two heavy wheels, made of solid plank. So far is it from being therefore, matter of surprise with the thousand of cars which are drawn out annually, that those accidents should occur; rather the wonder is, that there are so more of them from year to year. Still, however, the number of those who thus perish annually in Bengal, must amount to many hundreds.

When the car proceeds, a few brahmins mount it, to enjoy the pleasure of a ride. On drawing back the car this year, some of the people from below made great efforts to ascend the car likewise, but those who had already mounted it, unwilling to admit more, used every means to prevent intrusion by throwing down those who were climbing, either with their hands or with bamboos. After many fruitless efforts, the crowd below, enraged at this opposition, assailed those above with mud and stones, and every missile thing within their reach. For a time all was tumult and disorder. Jugunnat'ha, indeed did not fare better than his votaries who had occasioned the tumult. In the eagerness of the crowd to chastise those who had incurred their anger, he himself was so bedaubed with the filthy elements which the multitude threw up profusely, that his face and many parts of his car were nearly covered with mud.

After this violent expression of resentment, the indignation of the people having exhausted itself, they again applied their shoulders to the ropes, and proceeded in the wonted manner till they came within about two hundred yards of the appointed place. Here the car stuck fast; and whether it were for want of real strength, or of inclination, they felt unable to move it,—and there it must remain till the next anniversary.

With what ideas of the majesty of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, with what sentiments of reverence for the Deity,—with that convictions of his detestation of iniquity, and his love for truth and holiness,—with what additional restraint on their passions,—with what new incentives to virtue and purity in their own conduct, the natives must have returned home from such a scene, we leave the reader to judge.—About four thousand copies of a pamphlet drawn up last year by the Rev. Mr. Ward, were distributed during the nine days of the festival; not indeed in the midst of the crowd, as at that season they are often disregarded, if not lost; but when the worshippers were returning to their respective villages and places of abode, at which season the pamphlets were in general received with eagerness, and probably found their way to numerous villages.

Original and Selected.

HYMN TO THE OMNIPOTENT.

Lord of universal Nature,
 God of every living creature,
 Light of morning—shade of even,
 King of Ocean, Earth and Heaven,—
 Whilst I prostrate bow before thee,
 Teach my spirit to adore thee!
 Soul of love—and source of pleasure,
 Mine of every richer treasure,—
 King of tempest,—storm, and shower,
 Ruler of each secret power,—
 Whilst for favor I implore thee,
 Teach my spirit to adore thee!
 Spring of river,—lake, and fountain,
 Piler of the rock and mountain,
 Breath of animal creation,
 Life of varied vegetation,—
 Whilst I prostrate bow before thee,
 Teach my spirit to adore thee!
 First and last,—Eternal Being,—
 All pervading, and all seeing,
 Centre of divine perfection,—
 Whence the planets learn subjection.—
 Whilst for favor I implore thee,
 Teach my spirit to adore thee!

Oxford, 1819.

T. G.

SONNET TO HAPPINESS.

Oh! Happiness! thou fair enchanting form,
 That rob'd in brightness swiftly steals along,
 Oft mingling with the gay, the glittering throng
 Of blue-eyed laughing Hope—or glowing warm,
 In Fancy's rainbow colours sweetly drest,
 Flit'st on light silken wings before my sight;
 Ah! why so soon pursue thine airy flight?
 Return—return, and bless this throbbing heart,
 Alas! in vain I spread my eager arms,
 In vain I court thy heavenly smile serene;
 Thou'rt but a wanderer through this changeful scene
 And fleeting are thy transitory charms.
 Yes angel form! thy dwelling is not here,
 Thou reignest in a purer, loftier sphere.

THE PAINS OF MEMORY.

When joy its fairest flowers hath shed
 And e'en Hope's blossoms too are dead;
 Tho' Memory thro' the cloud of woe
 A momentary gleam may throw;—
 'Tis one of those sad rays of light,
 Which mocks while the mourner's sight,
 Then leaves his soul 'mid tenfold night!

STANZAE.

ARION.

Fall many a stoic eye and aspect stern,
 Mask hearts where grief hath little left to learn,
 And many a withering thought lies hid, not lost,
 In smiles that least best who wear them most.

Corsair Canto, 4d.

I.

Trust not to smiles, too oft they hide
 A heart oppress'd with care;
 Thoughts nearly to despair allied,
 Are often lurking there.

II.

Yes! I can smile, e'en while I feel
 Within my bosom pent,
 That which I'm smiling to conceal—
 Heart-gnawing discontent.

III.

All desolate, my lonely bower
 Is on a desert placed,
 Nor blooms one solitary flower
 Along the boundless waste.

IV.

O'er scenes of sadness Memory mourns,
 I strive, but strive in vain
 To banish thoughts, that prey by turns
 Upon my heart and brain.

Mutra.

W.

Stanzas.

(From the Second Number of the Oriental Magazine just published at Madras.)

To the Editor of the Oriental Magazine.

Sir,

A humble minstrel, whose ambition prompts him to cull a few of the simplest blossoms that grow at the foot of Parnassus, congratulates the Editor of the Oriental Magazine, on the merits of his first Number, and hopes the succeeding Papers of his Miscellany may meet with that approbation, which if they possess equal claims to praise, they will be so justly entitled to.—The subjoined Lines are the original effusions of a Subscriber, who submits them to the Editor, with the hope that they may be thought worthy of a corner in No. 2.

Stanzas, addressed to —.

Oh! fail thou not at morn, Love,
 To rear my favourite flower,
 Nor let it fade forlorn, Love,
 Neglected in thy bower;
 It oft hath witness'd passion speak,
 In fervid blushes on my cheek;
 Hath heard me breathe my vows to thee;
 And therefore it is dear to me!

And fail thou not when, brightly,
 Meridian sun-beams burn,
 To touch thy lute full lightly,
 To lays that love-wards turn:

For have we not together played,
 Together roundelays have made;
 While thou hast sung of constancy,
 And still my music spoke of thee!

Yet fail thou not at eve, Love,
 When shades begin to lower,
 To seek "The Tomb" and grieve, Love,
 With sorrow's saintly shower!

For, well thou knowest, beneath that stone,
 Sleeps a belov'd and holy One;
 Once fair as thou—and loved by thee.
 Since hallowed in my memory!

And fail thou not at night, Love,
 Thine orisons to pour;
 Nor midst such breathings bright, Love,
 Forget me in that hour,
 For I, tho' faulty and forlorn,
 Blend in my prayers, night and morn,
 That name of thine, most fervently,—
 And sorely thou wilt plead for me,

Then fail thou not, night, eve, and morn,
 To let one feeling stray.
 To him, who pours to thee, forlorn,
 His oft repeated lay;
 Whose only silent solace turns,
 On hopes, whose ray too palely burns,
 Which whisper, yet the time may be.
 When he again may bid thee!

B.—c, 23d Sept. 1819.

ROB ROY.

SONNET.—THE RING RETURNED.

(From the Italian.)

Oh, Lady mine! preserve unbroken,
 The tender ties of amity,
 And I shall never need a token,
 To bid my soul remember thee!
 What tho' we have so seldom met,—
 What tho' we ne'er may meet again,—
 Thro' hours of woe, with fond regret,
 My bosom shall thy form retain.—
 Then lady mine, take back the ring!
 I want no pledge to make me blest;
 No talisman—no spell to bring
 Feelings that cannot be repress;
 Since, whatsoever my future lot,
 Believe me thou'lt be ne'er forgot!

A. A. W.

COMPARISON.

As the rose of the valley when dripping with dew,
 Is the sweetest in odours, and fairest in hue;
 So the glance of dear Woman the brighter appears,
 When it beams, from her eloquent eye, thro' her tears!

ARION.

* "Oh, Lady mine!"—Sir P. Sydney.